1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find **two** villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river **five** of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were **Mandan** villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.)

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages."

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times.

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

"The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves.** A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People,** or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13-14.)

Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

Population—Official Reports—Errors. "The population of the village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they have suspected and thwarted them all. In the reports of the commissioners of Indian affairs, various estimates of their strength may be found, but they are all conjectural. In the report of 1862, it is stated that the Gros Ventres and Mandans, in that year, numbered 1,120, and the Aricarees (then in a separate but neighboring village) 1,000, total 2,120. In the report of 1866 are the following 'approximate numbers': Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total 2,300. In the report of 1871, the population is thus given: Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total, 'about' 2,300. In these estimates, which vary greatly, the first gives the population of the Gros Ventres and Mandans together as more than the Rees; while, in the second and third estimates, the Rees are represented as about twice as numerous as the other two tribes together. In this respect, believe the first quoted estimate to be nearest the truth; for the houses occupied by the Gros Ventres and Mandans number more than those occupied by the Rees. In the estimate of 1866, it will be seen that the Gros Ventres and Mandans are represented as equal to one another. I have many reasons for believing this representation to be incorrect. The conjecture of the writer, based upon all ascertainable data, is that, within the past ten years, the proper population of the village has never been more than 2,500, and that, at present, it is much less. It is pretty certain, too, that of the three tribes, the Aricarees stand first in numerical strength, the Hidatsa second, and the Mandans third.

"However, if a perfect census of the village was taken any day, when no hunting parties were out, it would not show the strength of these tribes; for the scouts who are enlisted at distant posts, their families, and the Minnetarees, who, of late years, have gone to live with the Crows, constituting in all a large proportion of this people, could not be included." (p. 16-17.)

We quote the following valuable extract from Mathews' regarding various languages of the Fort Berthold confederates:

Conversation—Distinct Languages. "To the philologist, it is an interesting fact that this trio of savage clans, although now living in the same village, and having been next door neighbors to each other for more than a hundred years, on terms of peace and intimacy, and to a great extent intermarried, speak, nevertheless, totally distinct languages, which show no perceptible inclination to coalesce.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not a single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case and none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the change has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence of the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally converse among themselves in terms which younger members of the tribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they say they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.)

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a missionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C. Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans, whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said work, pages 271, et seq., the following:

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. Altogether they numbered about two thousand souls. We had before this entertained the desire that we might be able to establish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming a kind of common language for them.

"**Howard Mandan,** or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his Indian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow,** the principal chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H. Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good many years and talked English well.

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the females. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a village was first built on a new site, each household selected a site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tendency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.
[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.
[3] Matthews, 377.
[4] Handbook of American Indians, I, 797.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (i. e., men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Malme-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, 'near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitarins, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Reeptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 130.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by those travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahanhaways (Vol. I. p. 118), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitarins; likewise Mahawha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitarins (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahawha, which ought probably to be Mashaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Morse,* therefore, estimates the number of these people rather too high, when he states it at 1250 souls.

The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchsi-Karehde (the flying war eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In general, however, they are not so tall as the Manitaries. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy is, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Manitaries is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown colour; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in maturer age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull: in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions.† Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians: that of children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect: his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it by artificial means. Their teeth, like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and as white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth

* See Dr. Morse's Report, p. 252. He speaks (p. 340) of the Mandans, Blackfeet, Rapid (Fall) Indians, and Assiniboins. His tables of the Indian population of the United States are in page 362.

† Say, who, in general, gives a very accurate description of the North American Indians (see Major Long's Travels), lays too much stress, as it appears to me, on the character of the receding of the forehead; for, by a comparison of a great many skulls, I have fully convinced myself of the contrary. Say affirmed, also, that the facial angle is not so small as Professor Blumenbach supposes. The Indian features, as far as my experience reaches, cannot be called either Mongol or Malay, the latter of which is more perceptible in the Brazilians, notwithstanding the manifest affinity with the North Americans. The learned traveller, Augustus de St. Hilaire, even attributes to the Brazilians a conformation of the skull, according to which these people are endowed with inferior intellectual faculties. (See Voyages dans les Districts de Diamande). The missionary, Parker, in his Travels to the Columbia River, p. 155, expresses himself, in this respect, entirely in accordance with my views; and D'Orbigny confirms them in respect to the South Americans, in the conformation of whose skulls he found considerable diversities.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families.

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white.

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.).

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means, in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

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177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and 621 the "No" or conservative faction. The basis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

177 Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between themselves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as acculturated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the